1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above *Nusmät·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kämai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kämai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed to her, which is never done now. The word *kämai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kämai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Älquntäm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.

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monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *ĺum*.

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Älquntäm*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Älquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Älquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *ĺult*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *ĺum*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*ĺum*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Älquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5]

[4] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. VI.

[5] It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety.

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* 539 and *Ɫwax*, the Raven. The former flew ahead to clear a path down the mountain slope for *Yuyulk"mai*. At that time there was no sun, everything was dark and bleak. As they descended the mountain, they remembered that they had forgotten to bring from above the sticks for making fire which *Sınx* had promised them. So Raven assumed the form of a deer, returned to the upper regions, collected the desired appliances, and rejoined his companions below. *Sınx* had given *Yuyulk"mai* a stone hammer to use in making a salmon-weir, so he chose a site near the river, where the village of *Ălqălăxl* now stands, and built a house of evergreen boughs. The perpetual gloom annoyed Raven so that he determined to release light, *sxem*, which he knew was in a container in the house above. Once again he ascended and succeeded in uncovering the light of the sun which has since shone forth on this world. From this Raven took for himself the name, *Ɫunqwınım uldidă sxem*.

When *Yuyulk"mai* awoke after the first night in his new house, he found a salmon-weir ready for him, built by *Sınx* while he was sleeping. That night he slept again, but nothing had altered in the morning.

* 539 During the day, *Sınx* appeared to *Yuyulk"mai*, saying:

551 "I bring you the name, *Sınxălotla*. When you give a potlatch, carve my face on your totem-pole."

The next day *Sınx* came again.

"I bring you the name, *Sınxăkila*," he said. "When you give a potlatch, carve my face on the bench where the chiefs sit."

The third day *Sınx* appeared once more, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Ănuxemlaix*. When you give a potlatch, paint my face on the back wall of your house."

Next day *Sınx* appeared in the form of a stump with numerous radiating roots, scoured and polished by the river.

"You will have the name *Alqexqi'djut*,"[1] he said. "If you find a hammer used in the construction of salmon-weirs, you will know that other people are living above you on the river. Put abalone-shell on the hammer."

* 539 With these instructions *Sınx* went away and never came back.

In course of time, when the population of the earth increased, *Yuyulk"mai* became rich and invited the people to a potlatch. The name he used on this occasion was *Sınxălotla* and he carved the face of *Sınx* on his totem-pole, as he had been instructed to do. A few years later he gave another potlatch, with the name *Sınxăkila*, and this time he carved *Sınx*'s face on the bench where the chiefs sat. When he gave

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[1] Meaning, "A glance downwards." It is the word used when a person looks downwards between his legs, or over his shoulders, a reference to the manner in which *Sınx*, from aloft, watches the actions of mortals.

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525 were about to die. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly
* 539 making miniature wooden darts and circles of pliant wood, such as are
* 787 used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a strange man.

"A *wina*[1] is coming to *Djusdju·sa*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djusdju·sa*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djusdju·sa* was at once aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djusdju·sa* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon fin which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djusdju·sa* won.

The loser handed over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put just the toes of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djusdju·sa placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small herring-like fish called *ɬmān·i*. *Djusdju·sa* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not clean himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Next day the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djusdju·sa* had made. Once more the lad was victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days ones to bring other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djusdju·sa*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so cleaned *Djusdju·sa*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

[192] [628]

[1] *Wina*, the term used for a raiding-party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the players guess in whose hand it is concealed.

2: McIlwraith
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

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/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

575* 575* 192 [776]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575* 796*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a *kusiut* calling out four times *ăn·ăn·ai·*, the ejaculation used in pain. [184] [192] [152]

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical. [184]

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *ănuyax* stands up and announces:

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land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nɛ̄kɛ̄mim* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[a] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tɛ̄ɛ̄kwak*;

The Hawk (*?*) species, *Ăwkiqaksaix*;

The Raven, *'Lawaqtlaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Tlikmaxtlika*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Maxaxilias*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yas*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwā'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kamalalkl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalxsta*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[a] A word etymologically connected with *wina*, the Bella Coola term for *raid*.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

During *qoɬɬm* and *nuluxam* days the carpenters gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated with a tuft of dyed, and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nuluxam*, a *kusiut* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the smoke-vent in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and forwards in his raised enclosure, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *kukusiut* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent *kusiut* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term *mulaxsta*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *kusiutam* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *kukusiut* unless X return in safety. No

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[The Sun Dance]

dance of *Neăkxnim* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *W'i·a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Älquntäm* at last enters *Nusqulxwaista* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[*] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqsulx*ᵘ, has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[*] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqsulx*ᵘ which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nałuimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tsmoił*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutănem:[11] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Snitsmăn-a:*[12] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

[11] *Asiutănem* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[12] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

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natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bullhead. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bullheads in winter. As far as could be learned, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *hamat* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nukumem* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dukdukkinux*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *hamat* but the ritual of the dance, known as *nyukwumamis*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dukdukkinux* and *Dukdukkinuxun*, those who await *Nuklymun*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Almaplaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Awi'kimalaxis* has a husband, *Almaplaikila*, who is patron for several *hamat* dances. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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Nuxalkmx Songs

The texts of *nuxalkmx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types.

Song Used for Qalem(a), a Kwaqoit Man(a)

Qwaxwaxtsaya	*Awaxwaxlaxwaya*	*xtaxwalaxalai*
He leaps,	as people,	a is about to come,
Axqalqayaxlai	*Aqalaxlaxwaya*	
that hidden one(a),	Raven.	

[*xwaxwax xwaxwa*]

Qalem!a	*Qalem!a*	*wa wai yai*
Raven(a)!	Raven!	*wa wai yai(a).*

(a) The word means "Raven." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's real designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nuxalkmx* rite.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamat'sa* dancer who has gone to the land otters. The dancer enquired as to a Canadian and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal.
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kwaqoit Woman(a)

Awaxwaxlaxwalala	*Xqaxwaxwalas*	*tsaxwaxwaxlalas*	*alaxwaxwalas*
They heard	of Fawn(d),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkeet.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a fawn-skin.
(c) As in many *nuxalkmx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves, see vol. II, p. 488.

Song Used for Wawayalem, a Kwaqoit Man(a)

Lilaxwaxwaxwaq	*waxwaxyaqaxs at*	*xalqelal*	*qalaxwaya*	
Run in all directions,	as dogs,	for the first time	it is there	
xwaxqalaxwa	*xwaxlaxwaxwa*	*waxwa*	*waxwa*	
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).	

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(c) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Hall.
(d) Presumably a reference to *Nuskyem*, the dancer's *hamat'sa* garment(?).
(e) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "dear."
(f) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
A. Those used at weddings;
B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuie Marriage Song(a)

Nuxa-ijwitlitsaxtyaxaxaxi!	*yux tsitqaxlsiyuhu*	*ulaxuyhwaxlaxqa*
Dearest for joy	*Ijwitlsiya*(b)	when they brought
a'xlitsaxaxaxuhu	*yux datyaxsa maxhu*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.
(b) *Ijwitlsiya* came down with *xyaayaxat* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Alqaxsmx*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at *Kimsquit*, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuie*.
(c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Ijwitlsiya*'s companions married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Ixal'tsitlaxtsyaxuhulu	*yux dzaxaxtsitlaxuli*	*maxtsqulyaxtsaxuhu*
They went down	*Ximsitsi*(b)	with his relatives
yux tsitqaxlsiyuhuli		
Ijwitlsiya (title).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[illegible] you are the grey of misfortune,	*si ewutldmutwudjn* you unmarried mother;	*ewat itcpilyeuuk* you are *spilí(d)*, you women	593* 586
[illegible] who pretend to be [illegible](t).	*Awaa* Alas(*f*)!	*Yumtcain* I am ashamed,	*cumtcain* I am *Awa*(g).	578

[illegible]

B Tcwmamulic alutlidac Exactly similar	*dzdzalilhcalutlidzalc* is the little boy's nose	*yaa alilcutsdzal'ut** to that of the round-headed
a'ucyaqulcalidzlc Robert(k).	*Awaa* Alas!	*Yumtcain* I am ashamed,	*cumtcain* I am *Awa*.

[illegible]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most *Awiyakum* songs in that *Awa* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Ala'quna*. [548]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general.

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The theme is here changed as if it were *Awa* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) *Robert* was supposed to be the father of *Awa*'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 593* [765] [766]

Song Used for Kyai when Mourning his Son, Kyaiaxa(a)

A Ilaiaxdaa | [illegible] | Hilaiaxaaa | [illegible]
Why has my son done so(b)? Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(c)

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[533] (aa) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[776] (bb) That is: *Tlaʟiakʼiʟaʟ* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Q̓wineo*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tleowika'lis*, and *Tłāliatlis*, and of herself.

(cc) *Q̓wineo*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Q̓wineo*'s ancestral myth.

(dd) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (ee) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tleowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(ff) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(gg) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinuχεtl(a)

A *Yao ka'ɛmaiastimqudax*	*dānuʟoldaiāmkʼɪdiʟs*	*yao ikāiskadnimodaox*
They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach
yao alāiowaiqudzisa	*daχakɛjudjimultsidax*	*duolnuɬχāmātlimdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kaw·amāolem·ixmāiaa*	*aiyawasmaiustaiʟsaiʟs*	*āltusālainaoskidax*
I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was
dāsɛlwaiye mokidax	*gdunuuq̓sum·ālstskidax*	*aiyałāmtsai'aisudax*
in the time	of the *Nunuq̓smāls*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmaiwalaxmaaoimɛ'*	*dāsqwnutsamstānaoiʟsandax*	*stāmiɬlq̓wlāsiɬl*
Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	
Aiyadaomāiyaax	*staiʟlaiklāmut·skidax*	*aiyawaāku·udax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*Wāaku*.
Siāiłyuāiłaiʟmadax	*dāno'aiyān·āmkʟdaiɬ*	*aiyatāmān·ukstiɬ*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *Wāaku* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinuχεtl* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Wāaku* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yaʟ·ārlaix*, where *Wāaku* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Nuthlḷwaqotsmkx	*oldisxtcntcnki*	*oldisxtcntcnki*
Swallow right down(*c*),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;

dinustmwakalulan·isiaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u	*Waksdimān·u*
Who is your father?	Who is your father?

Qwalaiyulānk	*dimān·u*	*qwalaiyulānk*	*dimān·u*
"Rotten stomach"(*b*)	is your father;	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

533*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qānāxemāks	*dallopān·idax*	*qānāxemāks*	*dalsitaowidax*
Dance,	cormorant,	dance,	cormorant(*b*).

Nustsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

[192]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwī'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ämt.	t'ōh'ō'lx·tämōt
Sockeye salmon	sämt	nanōiak·anēxtxtm·'m ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k'ap'aī	anuk·p·maī·x·.
Dog salmon	tlīb	sasa·lhoa ("fair weather.")
Silver salmon	wa'ls	k·'pstōsōsan·laix· ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp. ?)	——	ō·sip·'ēq
Cloud	sk·l·ē·noas	tsa·koak· ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stsix·ts'ex	anuk·'k·'iqtsaix· ("looking down into water")
Wren	mexat'a·laqa	t.'lk·ma·lat.aix· ("jumper")
Crane	xaq'ā·ns	masaxē·lian
Raven	qoa·x	lxoa·xoaqsaī·laix· ("rising early")
Cormorant	t.'ō·pana	k'oa·k'oag·ila
Hermaphrodite	sx·ints	a·a·'ya·ō

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwī'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Nō'ak·ngm" or "Nunuk·au'tsngm," which brings the kō'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anōk!pta'ltua. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snō'amLtgnank· at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutēxoalaaxtstgna'nk·. In the house live three men who are named Naapsutaaxai'x·, À'mLtag·ilis, and Tix·ti·k·'a'ngmem. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kō'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

a'xokoala = shaman.
Alk° = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, Hē'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
t.'ā'qoqila = the copper maker.
t.'ā'qumēlks = sister of Maamaxala'nix (the ending, *ilx*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
t.ēqumaii' = mythological name of deer.
Mā'lsk'ilat.
Mentu'l (p. 48).
Mta'ltoa = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
No'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mēatk'as (p. 70) = the real O'mēkt.
O'meatmāi (p. 70).
Omq'ōmk!'lk'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'ōmkilk a) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'tas.
Qanāxtala'qs (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qua (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqātis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtoiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
si'siut. = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smxyalō'ot.la (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Wiwi'na (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'imai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to